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**Analysis
of the Existing
Situation
and Landmarks
for the Future**

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Committee
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of the Soviet Union

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**АНАЛИЗ СУЩЕСТВУЮЩЕГО ПОЛОЖЕНИЯ
И ОРИЕНТИРЫ НА БУДУЩЕЕ**

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Comrades,

Our plenary meeting is discussing one of the fundamental questions of the Party's activity, one of the most important component parts of communist construction. What are the principal tasks of the Party in ideological work in the present conditions?

First. Our entire ideological, educational and propaganda work must be resolutely raised to the level of the big and complex tasks which the Party is solving in the process of perfecting developed socialism. The Party committees at all levels, every Party organisation must understand that no matter how important are the other questions they have to deal with (economic, organisational, and so on), ideological work is increasingly coming to the forefront. We clearly see the serious harm that is done by shortcomings in this work, by the insufficient maturity of the consciousness of people, when this occurs. And on the other hand, already today we feel

well how the pace of advance increases when ideological work becomes more effective, when the masses understand the Party's policy better, regarding it as their own, as a policy meeting the vital interests of the people.

Second. We have a tremendous arsenal of means of education and upbringing at our disposal. These are the press, radio, television, verbal propaganda, and the huge network of educational establishments of various types. All this was mentioned at length both in Comrade Konstantin Chernenko's report and in the debate. The matter now is to utilise all these means more correctly, to use them more vigorously, creatively, taking into account, in particular, the considerably higher level of education and requirements of Soviet people. Here we still have a lot to learn, and our main adversaries on this road are formalism, triteness, timidity and at times laziness of thought. We should also proceed from the premise that the moulding of the consciousness of Communists and of all citizens of our socialist society is a matter not only for professional ideologists, propagandists and workers in the mass media. It is a matter for the whole Party.

Third. The question of cadres. In all Party committees—in the republics, territories, regions, cities and districts—there must be specially trained cadres capable of skilfully organising ideological work with different groups of the population—with workers, collective farmers, intellectuals, young people—and bearing responsibility for this work. These must be respected and educated people. The necessary conditions should be created for them, and con-

cern shown for the systematic growth of their qualifications. And there should be only one criterion for evaluating their activities—the level of the political consciousness and labour activity of the masses.

Fourth. A new and considerably higher standard of ideological and theoretical work in the field of the social and, above all, economic sciences, of the work of our scientific institutions and of each particular scientist must be ensured. A resolute turn is necessary towards real, practical tasks which life sets before our society. In the same measure as the natural sciences, the social sciences must become an effective assistant of the Party and the whole people in the solution of these tasks.

Fifth. A big role must be played by a change of style in the performance of the system of our political education, of mass-scale political study. It is necessary, above all, to put an end to formalism, to a mechanical memorising (or reading from a prepared text), divorced from life, of particular general theses. The essence of political study is that everyone should more deeply understand the Party's policy in present-day conditions, be able to apply in practice the knowledge obtained, have a clearer idea of his or her own duty and carry it out in deeds.

Sixth. In all educational and propaganda work it is necessary constantly to take into account the specific features of the period of history mankind is living through. And this period is marked by a confrontation, of an intensity and acuteness unprecedented in the whole of the post-war period, of two diametrically opposite world outlooks, two political

courses—socialism and imperialism. A struggle is in progress for the minds and hearts of billions of people in the world. And the future of mankind depends to no small degree on the outcome of this ideological struggle. Hence it is clear how exceptionally important it is to be able to bring to the broadest masses of the people throughout the world the truth about socialist society, about its advantages, about its peaceful policy in a comprehensible and convincing form. It is no less important skilfully to expose lying, subversive imperialist propaganda. What we need is a well-considered single system of counter-propaganda, a dynamic and effective one.

In short, we have a lot to do in the ideological sector and we must tackle the job without putting it off.

But even the most striking and interesting propaganda, the most competent and intelligent teaching, the most gifted art will fail to achieve their aim if they are not filled with profound ideas closely linked with the realities of present-day life and indicating the path of further advance. In this sense the new edition of the CPSU Programme, which is being prepared by a decision of the 26th Congress, will play an exceptionally important role for ideological work and for the Party's whole work in general.

The present Party Programme, as said in the resolution of the Congress, on the whole correctly characterises the laws governing world social development, the aims and the main tasks of the striving of the Party and the Soviet people towards communism. Its fundamental provi-

sions have been confirmed by life. Much of what is inscribed in the Programme has already been fulfilled. At the same time, some of its provisions, and this must be said straight out, have not in full measure withstood the test of time because they contained elements of a divorce from reality, of running ahead of things, and of going into unjustified detail. And, of course, many important changes have taken place in 20 years both in the life of Soviet society, in the life of other countries of socialism, and in the world's development as a whole. All this requires deep theoretical interpretation and should be taken into consideration in drafting the Party's long-term strategy in the field of home and foreign policy.

A realistic analysis of the existing situation and clear landmarks for the future, linking the experience of life with the ultimate aims of our Communist Party—this is what one would like to see in the new edition of the CPSU Programme. In connection with the drafting of the Party's Second Programme Lenin said: "Without any exaggeration, with full objectivity, without departing from the facts, we must state in our Programme what we have done and what we want to do." And that is how we, comrades, must act.

What is necessary first of all for a correct understanding of prospects—in the economy, in politics and in ideology—is a clear idea of the nature of the stage of social development through which we are now passing. The Party defined it as the stage of developed socialism. This is a society in which an economic base, social structure and political system in line with

socialist principles have already been fully created, in which socialism, as it is customary to say, develops on its own, collectivist basis.

All this, of course, does not mean that the society we have created can be regarded as perfect. It still has many objectively determined difficulties which are natural for the present level of development. There also are quite a few shortcomings caused by subjective reasons, by the not always skilful and organised work of people. **And in present conditions the Programme of the Party should first of all be a programme of the planned and all-round perfecting of developed socialism and, consequently, of further advance to communism.** The text of the Programme, it seems, should contain a thorough description of the period of developed socialism.

It is well known that the makeup of every society is determined in the long run by the level of development of its productive forces, by the nature and state of production relations. In our social development we have now approached such a point in history at which deep qualitative changes in productive forces and a corresponding perfection of production relations have not only ripened but have also become inevitable. This is not just our wish, comrades, this is an objective necessity and there is no way of avoiding it. And the changes in the consciousness of people, in all the forms of social life that it is customary to call the superstructure, must take place in close interconnection with this.

The key task in the economic sphere is **the cardinal improvement of labour productivity.** Here we must strive to attain the highest

world level. For with good reason Lenin regarded this as in the long run the most important, the main thing for the victory of the new social system. This task has acquired special importance now, in the context of the scientific and technological revolution, both for our domestic development and in the international aspect.

What will be the road taken by the development of productive forces in our country in the foreseeable future?

The immediate aim is clear: first of all it is necessary to bring into good order what we have, to ensure the most sensible utilisation of the country's production, scientific and technical potential, including the overcoming of the lag in such branches as agriculture, transport and the services industry. The report and the debates touched on the drive for strengthening discipline and order, for increasing the degree of organisation and responsibility, that has started in the country on the Party's initiative. I want to stress, comrades: ensuring the smooth and uninterrupted work of the whole economic mechanism is both a requirement of today and a programme task for the future. It is a component part of the general process of perfecting our social system.

The main way to a qualitative shift in productive forces is, of course, the transition to intensive development, the merging in reality of the advantages of our socialist system with the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. Of, moreover, its latest stage which promises dramatic technological changes in many spheres of production. I think all will agree that this direction in the activities of the Party

and people should be worthily reflected in the new edition of the Party Programme.

A single scientific and technological policy is becoming of decisive importance now. A tremendous amount of work lies ahead of us in the creation of machines, mechanisms and technologies both for today and tomorrow. We will have to automate production, ensure the widest use of computers and robots and the introduction of flexible technology enabling the quick and effective readjustment of production for the manufacture of new products. The future of our power industry is, above all, the utilisation of the latest atomic reactors and in the future also the practical solution of the problem of controlled thermonuclear fusion. Also on the agenda are such tasks as the production of materials with predetermined properties, the development of biotechnology, the extensive use in industry of waste-free and energy-saving technologies. All this will bring about a veritable revolution in our economy.

Unfortunately, comrades, as you know, it is the introduction of the achievements of science and technology into practice that is a snag for us. The economic manager who takes the "risk" and introduces new technology at his enterprise, who employs or manufactures new equipment often turns out to be loser while the one who stays away from innovation loses nothing. The task, therefore, is to work out such a system of organisational, economic and moral measures which will make both managers and workers, and, of course, scientists and designers, interested in the renewal of equipment, and will make it unprofitable to work in the old fashion.

The State Planning Committee, the Academy of Sciences and the State Committee for Science and Technology are now working on this. But this must be done faster since losing time costs the country dearly.

And, of course, to raise the effectiveness of production there must be a drastic reduction in the use of manual labour, above all, by means of comprehensive mechanisation. The situation in the field of labour productivity will be drastically changed by the large-scale use of robots, especially in those sections of production where manual, arduous physical, low-skilled and monotonous labour is still being used. This will make it possible for hundreds of thousands of people to work in different, more favourable conditions, and to derive greater satisfaction from their work. And this is of fundamental importance, comrades. This will bring closer a solution of one of the main tasks of communist construction—that of overcoming the substantial differences between manual and mental labour.

Generally speaking, the main productive force, of course, is man, his labour activity. I have in mind here not only conscious discipline, a creative attitude to work, but also the precise, competent organisation of the work of people and its remuneration.

Thus we come now to the question of improving production relations. Their basis is the social ownership of the means of production. As is well known, in our country it has a dual form: state property and collective farm-cooperative property. In the future we see the merging of these two forms into a single form of ownership, ownership by the whole people. Of course, not

by means of mechanical transformation of collective farms into state farms. Experience shows that there are other ways—for example, agro-industrial integration, the development of inter-collective farm and collective farm-state farm amalgamations. The entire problem should be deeply and clearly elucidated in the Programme.

There is one more important point. We must not forget that we are living in a **socialist** society whose development should be regulated by the cardinal principles of socialism, including, of course, the principle of **distribution according to work**. In our country everybody has equal rights and equal duties to society. Full equality in the sense of equal use of material boons will be possible only under communism. But we will have to go a long way before that. It will require a much higher level both of the economy and of the consciousness of people. But at present, if we are not to count a certain part of the social consumption funds, every citizen in our country has the right only to such material boons that correspond to the quantity and quality of his socially useful work, and only to these. And here strict accounting and strict observance of this principle are important.

The improvement of production relations also calls for a radical improvement of planning and management. We have formed a unified national economic complex and have amassed certain experience in comprehensive planning for specific regions and for specific key economic problems. The latest examples of this are the Food Programme and the Energy Programme, a major document with long-term prospects, a kind of

the GOELRO plan in present-day conditions. The Party, the state and the entire people will have to do a great amount of work to implement these programmes. But also well known are shortcomings in our planning, such as the unjustifiable spreading out thinly of resources, lack of balance in plans and a gap between the mass of commodities and the incomes of the population. It is an economic as well as a political task to do away with such shortcomings.

The development of production relations is today making new demands on the organisation of the socialist emulation movement as well. At present one of its principal forms is competition for overfulfilment of production plans, chiefly by quantitative indicators. In many cases this continues to be justifiable, especially in the extractive industries. I think, however, that it would be worthwhile now to focus attention on such aims of the emulation movement as raising the quality of output and making a better use of production capacities, raw materials, energy and working time. And, of course, there must be reasonable economy in everything—from a ton of metal to a kilogram of bread.

Generally speaking, the forms of the socialist emulation movement, just as of other public initiatives and mass movements, are not something rigid and immutable. They change depending on the level of the material and cultural maturity of society. And it is the duty of the Party promptly to notice all useful and meaningful initiatives, to support and spread them.

Comrades, at the 26th Congress we stressed in a very precise way the need to ensure a close connection between economic and social pol-

icies. And this is understandable, for the ultimate objective of our efforts in the economic field is to improve the living conditions of the people.

In drawing up our economic plans we should learn to take into account and to reflect in them the major factors of the development of our society—social, national and demographic. It must be a unified policy of the Party, a unified strategy of social development.

The phrase "raising living standards" is often used in our country. But it is sometimes interpreted in a simplified way, having in view only the growth in incomes of the population and the production of consumer goods. In fact, the concept of living standards is much wider and richer. It embraces the steady growth of the consciousness and cultural level of people, including their cultural standards in everyday life and conduct and, what I would call, reasonable consumption. Also included in this concept is a good public order, a sound rational diet, a high quality of public services (in which, as is known, far from all is well in our country). It also embraces a morally and aesthetically adequate use of free time. In short, everything which in its sum total is worthy of being called civilised in line with socialist principles.

Tremendous headway has been made in our country in improving the housing conditions of the population. Yet for many the housing problem remains acute. In the not very distant future we shall solve this problem in the main; every family will have a separate flat. But we must see to it that flats, just as other good things in life, are distributed fairly with due account of such

factors as how the person concerned is working. It is perhaps worthwhile to provide for a broader development of house-building on a cooperative basis and for broader use of funds of enterprises for construction—not only of residential houses but, say, of holiday homes and homes for the aged, wherever this is possible and needed. This will be a good thing not only economically but will also help cultivate in people a feeling of collectivism and a sense of being directly involved in taking decisions on public matters.

It is not enough to improve the system of cash remuneration for work done, it is also essential to produce the necessary amounts of the goods that are in demand. And the highest quality standards should be set for them, without any allowances. At present one sometimes finds it vexing to see that although the initial materials are good the quality of the final product is such that people prefer to overpay a profiteer for good, tastefully made things. This situation must be remedied, and remedied without delay.

It is especially necessary to see to it that the population has an uninterrupted supply of quality foodstuffs. And this must be done in such a way as to achieve the greatest possible self-sufficiency in this respect. Our Food Programme is aimed at solving this problem.

Health care will undoubtedly hold an increasingly important place in the social policy of the Party. The democratic character of our system of free health service, the first such service in the world, is known to all. But its quality level far from always meets the demands of developed socialism. This has been pointed out more than

once in Party decisions in recent years. But it will take no small efforts to carry out these decisions. Special attention is claimed by the prevention of diseases. One of the ways to achieve this is to introduce annual prophylactic examinations of the whole population. This is a matter of the health of the people, that is to say, a matter of paramount importance socially and economically.

The solution of all these major tasks in the Party's home policy will mean a marked advance towards the social homogeneity of society. This great aim, set theoretically and dreamed of by several generations of Communists, has become for us today a matter of immediate practice. Experience suggests that, judging by everything, the establishment of a classless structure of society will largely and in the main take place at the stage of mature socialism. This conclusion of the 26th Congress of the CPSU will evidently be reflected in the new edition of the Party Programme.

The Party proceeds from the belief that the years and decades to come will bring considerable changes also in the political and ideological superstructure, in the spiritual life of society.

I shall speak first of all about the development of our political system, about the improvement of Soviet statehood and the broadening of socialist democracy.

Many objectives in this respect, contained in the existing Party Programme, have already been attained, especially after the adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR. The ties of the Deputies and the Soviets in general with the

population have grown markedly stronger. Nationwide discussions of major draft laws have become firmly established in practice. The role of people's control has grown. The trade unions, now embracing practically all working people in towns and villages, are becoming more active.

In short, a great deal has been done. But, of course, not everything that should or could have been done.

Let us take, for instance, the existing procedure for taking decisions on major matters of state and social life. There are possibilities for further democratising it. I have in mind ever broader discussion of drafts of such decisions in work collectives; the obligatory heeding, in relevant cases, of the conclusions of trade unions, Komsomol and women's organisations; a maximally attentive approach to the proposals of working people.

And cannot greater publicity in work and the regular reporting-back of leading executives to the population also help bring the activities of the Party and state bodies closer to the needs and interests of the people?

Inscribed in the Party Programme is the task of reducing and simplifying the managerial apparatus. I think that this task should continue to be regarded as urgent. This is both a practical matter and a political matter of principle which was posed long ago by Lenin as an issue of special importance. Something is being done in this respect today, but it is not enough. I am convinced, comrades, that the staffs of many institutions and organisations could be considerably reduced without any harm to their work. The persons thus released will always find

employment for themselves where there is a shortage of personnel.

The question of the further development of democratic principles in the management of production should, of course, hold an important place in the new edition of the Party Programme. Tomorrow the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR will examine the first ever draft Law on Work Collectives in the history of our state. This is an act of great political importance. It is right and a good thing that the law will be adopted after a detailed and truly nationwide discussion has been held. And it is very important that it should be translated into life in full measure.

Normal advance of our social development is inconceivable without the strictest observance of laws protecting the interests of society and the rights of citizens. It is necessary specifically to eliminate completely such things as the use of state, public property and the post held for personal enrichment. If one comes to think of it, this is nothing but an undermining of the very essence of our system. Here the law must be implacable and its application inevitable. Protection of the interests of the people is one of the mainstays of our socialist democracy.

There is one more thing, comrades. We should declare a real war on such practices when our democratic principles and standards are not supported by actions, when people are content only with the formal aspect, with a semblance of action. What good can, say, a meeting do if, as often happens now, it is held in the main according to a prepared script, if there is no inter-

ested, frank discussion, if statements by speakers are edited beforehand while initiative and especially criticism are smoothed over and muffled? And what is the worth of the work of a trade union organisation which does not dare raise its voice in defence of the interests of the working people, against particular irregularities in production? Or what is the activity of people's controllers worth if their signals are not heeded and much-needed measures are not taken?

It is a matter of exceedingly great importance to see to it that words are never at variance with deeds and that the essence of the matter is not replaced by form. This, if you like, is one of the major potentialities for improving our socialist democracy in all aspects of state and public life.

As for the longer perspective we Communists see it in the gradual development of Soviet statehood into public self-government. We think this will happen by way of the further development of the state of the whole people and by a broader involvement of the masses in managing the affairs of society.

Evidently, this process will take place not of its own accord and not just because of somebody's goodwill. It is determined both by the material possibilities of society and the level of political consciousness and culture of the masses. It is very important to grasp and remember this. Not to think up abstractly any further ways and forms of the development of democracy but to proceed from experience. Therein lies the guarantee of the realism of our programme objectives.

It goes without saying, comrades, that questions of the Party's nationalities policy will hold

an appropriate place in the new edition of the CPSU Programme. I have already pointed out that the perfection of developed socialism must of necessity include a well-considered and scientifically grounded nationalities policy. It rests on the principles bequeathed to us by Lenin: the complete equality of all the nations and nationalities of our country, their free development within a fraternal union and an un-deviating course towards bringing them closer together. The implementation of this policy calls and will continue to call in the future for the consistent education of all Soviet people in the spirit of socialist internationalism, and for a deep awareness of the community of interests of all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Comrades, perfecting developed socialism is inconceivable without a great amount of work that has to be done for the cultural development of the people.

As was rightly said here, the moulding of man begins in the early years of his life. During the plenary meeting there was much talk about the work of our schools and other educational establishments. I should like to underline one thing: the Party wants people in our country to be educated not just as possessors of a certain amount of knowledge but, above all, as the citizens of a socialist society, as active builders of communism with its characteristic ideological principles, morals and interests and high cultural standards in work and conduct.

Combination of studies with productive work is a good method of education. It is necessary to follow firmly the policy of cultivating in school-children a habit and love of socially useful work.

This may be physical or brain work, but it must be real, productive work, needed by society.

Work is also helpful for physical development. Not everything is well with us in this respect. I have in mind not only lessons of physical training and pursuit of sports but the need to gain a certain minimum amount of knowledge in the fields of hygiene and medical care. It is necessary that every person should have a basic knowledge of his organism from youth and know how to keep it in order.

And where else but at school can one receive the beginnings of aesthetic education and acquire for life a feeling for the beautiful, an ability to understand and appreciate works of art and to engage in artistic pursuits.

Of course, the accomplishment of all these tasks will take no small efforts and time. It will be necessary, apart from everything else, to improve the selection and training of teachers with account taken of present-day requirements.

Here in the Presidium we have discussed the following subject. Apparently it is becoming necessary to give serious thought to carrying out reform of our school, including the system of vocational training.

Comrades, the Party's strategy in perfecting developed socialism must be based upon the solid Marxist-Leninist theoretical foundation. Meanwhile, frankly speaking, we have not yet studied properly the society in which we live and work, and have not yet fully revealed the general laws governing its development, particularly economic ones. That is why we have to act at times empirically, so to speak, by the quite irrational trial and error method.

Science, unfortunately, has not yet come up with practical solutions to a number of important problems, solutions which are essential and which would meet the principles and conditions of developed socialism. What do I mean by this? Well, first of all, the choice of the most reliable ways of raising the efficiency of production and output quality, and the principles of scientifically grounded price formation. And not only that. Life itself constantly puts forward ever new problems with which our society's advance is connected. The more so, since the experience of the socialist development of a number of other countries is now available, too. This experience requires careful study, evaluation and generalisation. In a word, attention must be given without fail to the role of the social sciences in present-day conditions in the new edition of the Programme of the CPSU.

The importance of literature and art in our socialist society is well pointed out in the current Programme. At the same time some provisions on this matter are, perhaps, in need of further elaboration.

The Party supports everything that enriches science and culture and helps educate the working people in the spirit of the norms and principles of developed socialism. It treats the talents, and the creative quest of the artist with consideration, respectfully, without interfering in the forms and style of his work. But the Party cannot be indifferent to the ideological content of art. It will always direct the development of art so that it serves the interests of the people. It is not, of course, a question of administration by mere injunction. Marxist-Leninist criticism,

active, considerate, attentive, and at the same time uncompromising with regard to works that are ideologically alien and professionally inferior, is the main method of influencing artistic creativity.

We all see how, as the cultural level of the people rises, the impact of art on the minds of people increases. Thus, the possibilities of art actively to influence social life grow, too. And this means that the responsibility of art workers for ensuring that the powerful instrument in their hands should serve the cause of the people, the cause of communism, grows immensely.

Comrades, the experience of world development in the last twenty-five years makes it necessary that many provisions of the Programme concerning international problems should be modified.

The correlation of forces in the world arena has substantially changed. An unprecedented sharpening of struggle of the two world social systems has taken place. Meanwhile an attempt to settle the historical dispute between the two systems through a military clash would be disastrous to humankind. The character of the further development of relationships between them, i.e., in essence, the question of the preservation of peace on earth, is both today and in the foreseeable future the pivotal problem of the foreign policy of our Party.

And not only of our Party. The threat of a nuclear war overhanging the world makes one appraise in a new way the basic meaning of the activities of the entire communist movement. Communists have always been fighters against

oppression and exploitation of man by man. Today they also wage a struggle for the preservation of human civilisation, for man's right to life. This must be reflected in the Programme.

The socialist countries and their policy are in our days a factor of immense importance in the cause of ensuring a lasting peace on earth. To strengthen the cooperation and cohesion of these countries is, I would say, the paramount direction of the international activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

The Programme of the CPSU mentions the new type of relations that have developed between socialist countries. But the past two decades have enriched our ideas about the world of socialism, and have shown more vividly how diverse and complex it is. Between individual socialist countries there are big differences as regards their economies, culture, and ways and methods of carrying out the tasks of socialist development. This is only natural, even if it had seemed to us at one time that it would be more uniform.

The history of world socialism confirms that the socialist system creates all possibilities for confident advance of society and harmonious relationships between countries. We have many examples of how these possibilities are realised on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism which include both absolute respect for the sovereign rights of each country and mutual comradely support and mutual assistance. But, as experience shows, all this does not come by itself. A correct political line is necessary if the possibilities are to be translated into reality.

In politics one pays for one's errors. When the guiding role of a Communist Party weakens, there arises the danger of sliding back to a bourgeois-reformist way of development. If a Party loses touch with the people, self-proclaimed aspirants to the role of those who express the interests of the working people emerge in the ensuing vacuum. If there is no rebuff to nationalistic sentiments, there arise inter-state conflicts for which, it would seem, there is no basis whatever in the socialist world.

And it is particularly important, of course, that existing differences do not hamper the development of cooperation. To ensure this is the sacred duty of the Communists, of the ruling Communist Parties. After all, what can divide us is immeasurably smaller than what we have in common as builders of a new society.

We are for friendship with all socialist countries. As for our closest friends and allies—the countries of the socialist community—we share a common opinion: life itself demands not just an expansion of cooperation but a rise in its quality and effectiveness.

This means, first, a further improvement of political interaction, of which the Warsaw Treaty Organisation is the major instrument. As we see it, our cooperation in this sphere will become ever closer. Of course, it will continue to develop with due regard for the peculiarities of the situation, as well as the specific interests of individual states. At the same time a jointly defined common course will be an increasingly durable alloy of opinions and positions of the fraternal countries.

Secondly, we try to raise economic integration to a qualitatively new level. Already today it is impossible to imagine the life of the countries of the socialist community without it. In future, integration will continue to deepen and become more and more all-embracing and effective, reliably ensuring the strengthening of the national economies of the participating countries. This is the objective of our joint efforts.

Finally, in the sphere of intellectual and cultural life we envisage the further ideological drawing closer together of the fraternal peoples, the strengthening of the sense of unity, identity of their historical destinies and a broader exchange of cultural values.

Of course, all these are long-term processes. They are taking place already today, but their effect will be felt to a still greater extent tomorrow, in the coming decades. And we are convinced that the higher and the more similar the levels of social development of the socialist countries will be, the greater the mutual understanding and the more organic, the richer and deeper their cooperation.

An objective scientific analysis of the essence of differences, when they arise over some questions between individual socialist countries as well as between some fraternal Parties in the world communist movement, and the quest for ways to overcome them on a Marxist-Leninist basis, for ways to strengthen the cohesion of the Communists, are undoubtedly one of the important tasks of the Party on the international plane. The Programme cannot ignore it if we want to remain within the realm of reality.

The growing role of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America that have freed themselves from colonial or semi-colonial dependence is one of the basic features of the present-day world which should be reflected in the new edition of the Programme. The processes which are taking place in them are complex and multifaceted, and it is important that they should be understood correctly.

A capitalist system has established itself in some of those countries. But the imperialist powers' aggressive policy of domination and dictation runs counter to the objective interests of those countries, too. Striving to overcome economic backwardness, those countries are in need of equitable international cooperation and a durable peace. Many of them regard contacts with socialist countries as a means of strengthening their independence. It is only natural that we shall continue to pursue a course towards mutually beneficial cooperation with those states with full respect for their sovereignty and observance of the principle of non-interference in their affairs.

The countries that are the closest to us in the former colonial world are those which have chosen socialist orientation. We and those countries are brought together not only by common anti-imperialist, peaceful goals in foreign policy, but also by common ideals of social justice and progress. We are aware, of course, both of the complexity of their position and the difficulties of their revolutionary development. It is one thing to proclaim socialism as one's goal and quite another thing to build it. A certain level of productive forces, culture and social

consciousness is needed for that. Socialist countries express solidarity with those progressive states, render assistance to them in the sphere of politics and culture, and help strengthen their defence. We render aid, to the extent of our possibilities, in their economic development as well. But, in the main, their economic development, just as the entire social progress of those countries, can of course only be the result of the work of their peoples and of a correct policy of their leadership.

As to the world of capitalism, we are witnessing a substantial deepening of the general crisis of that social system. The methods, which helped capitalism to maintain relative stability in its development in the post-war period, are becoming less and less effective. This is becoming increasingly clear: imperialism is unable to cope with the social consequences of the scientific and technological revolution which is unprecedented in its profundity and scope, as millions upon millions of working people are doomed to unemployment and misery.

Imperialism has got entangled in internal and inter-state antagonisms, upheavals and conflicts. This tells profoundly but in different ways on the policy of capitalist countries.

On the one hand, as has already been said, the aggressiveness of ultra-reactionary forces led by US imperialism has sharply increased. Attempts are being made to reverse the course of events at all cost. Of course, this policy will not bring imperialists success but, being adventuristic, it is extremely dangerous to mankind. That is why it is meeting with powerful opposition on the part

of the peoples, which undoubtedly will grow even further.

In the present-day capitalist world, however, there are also other trends and other politicians who have a more realistic view of the international situation. They realise that processes which have taken place in the world are now irreversible; they realise the necessity and mutual benefit of long-term peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. We, on our part, have said on more than one occasion and repeat once again that we are ready for this. We are convinced that this meets the interests of the peoples on both sides of the social barricade dividing the world. For there are quite a few major problems which concern all countries and which are of ever growing significance. For example, nature protection on our planet, the harnessing of new energy sources, the exploration of space, and the tapping of the resources of the World Ocean.

Communists are convinced that the future belongs to socialism. Such is the march of history. But this does not at all mean that we are going to engage in the "export of revolution", in interference in the affairs of other countries. The "export of revolution" is altogether impossible. Socialism grows only on the soil of the objective requirements of the social development of each particular country. We firmly believe that socialism will ultimately prove its advantages precisely in conditions of peaceful competition with capitalism. And we by no means advocate competition in the military field, which imperialism is foisting on us.

Peaceful coexistence is objectively facilitated

by the military-strategic balance between socialism and imperialism. The attainment of this balance is one of the most important results of the past decades. It required no small efforts and resources from our people and the peoples of other countries of the socialist community, and we shall not allow it to be disrupted. We shall continue to do everything possible to ensure the security of our country, of our friends and allies, and we shall enhance the combat power of the Soviet armed forces—a mighty factor containing the aggressive aspirations of the forces of imperialist reaction. But if it became possible to reduce the level of armaments and military spending on both sides and to embark on disarmament, which we are actively seeking, this would be a great boon for all countries and peoples.

Our goal is not just to avert war. We are seeking to bring about radical improvements in international relations and to consolidate and develop everything that is good in these relations. We shall press for respect for the sovereign rights of states and peoples and for strict observance of the principles of international law which imperialism is increasingly often trying to discard and trample on.

In short, in our era it is precisely socialism that is the most consistent defender of the healthy elements in international relations, the defender of the interests of detente and peace, the interests of each people and of all humankind. The new edition of the CPSU Programme should evidently state all this explicitly.

Comrades, the accomplishment of the tremendous tasks facing the country will require a further enhancement of the Party's leading role.

Therefore the Party ought constantly to perfect the forms and methods of its own work. There are several provisions on this score in the CPSU Programme which still need to be translated into reality. New questions are also arising.

It is very important, for example, to ensure in practice a correct distribution of functions between the Party and the state. It has been repeatedly said that Party bodies should not duplicate state bodies, but it is not always possible to avoid this. As a result, this often reduces the responsibility of the heads of state bodies, makes them seek to shift it onto Party bodies, while the latter involuntarily develop elements of a departmental attitude to the work.

The Party has a large reserve in the further development of inner-party democracy, the enhancement of the creative activity, initiative and responsibility of Communists. The bolder and more specific Communists are in discussing the vital questions concerning the life of the Party and the country, the more active they will be in implementing adopted decisions, the more successfully our Party will be able to perform its historic mission.

The new edition of the Party Programme is called upon to help us all to concentrate efforts on accomplishing the key tasks facing the Party and the people. If we fulfil them well, this will be another immense stride forward in developing the country and improving the life of the people. And then our socialist system will even more convincingly demonstrate its advantages and its magnetic force to the entire world.

It is important not only to map out clear-cut, well-considered guidelines for the future but

also to bring them home to millions of Communists and people who are not Party members, so that they will join actively in the work ahead. It is precisely this that constitutes one of the prime tasks of those working on the ideological front. Ideological, educational work is above all a question of the Party's ties with the masses. Herein lies its significance. And this plenary meeting will, I am sure, be of considerable assistance to the Party in all its activities.

